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ABSTRACT

A three-part investigation of clerical workers in Connecticut concluded that there is sex discrimination in the field. A survey of clerical workers, interviews with various executives, union officials, and personnel consultants, as well as a public hearing with clerical workers led the investigators to conclude that most of the discrimination is systemic. Key causes identified were the sex stereotypes which surround the roles of clerical workers, the unwillingness to promote persons in this line of work, and the oversupply of women in the labor force. Selected additional conclusions of the study are that clerical work is particularly low paid, especially when compared to jobs of a similar skill level which are traditionally held by men; clerical jobs are not adequately defined on the basis of work performed; and the desire for upward mobility in clerical work is being thwarted by low expectations about and inadequate recognition of the aspirations, abilities, and job duties of clerical workers. Recommendations include the development and support of career ladders, clerical through professional levels, with the recognition of job experience as a basis for promotion; the development of affirmative action plans which include upward mobility programs; career education and work experience programs which encourage career awareness emphasizing office rather than clerical work; and the performance of continuous job evaluations which provide mechanisms for job up-grading. (MEK)

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CLERICAL WORK

A MANUAL FOR CHANGE

State of Connecticut

Report of the Permanent Commission on the Status of Women
on
Sex Discrimination in Clerical Work

February, 1978

CE 025 799

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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CLERICAL WORK: A MANUAL FOR CHANGE

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

In July 1977 the Permanent Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) unanimously voted to conduct an investigation of clerical work. This study was a part of the Commission's priority focus on the economic status of women. Clerical work, in particular, was selected because over a third of all women workers are clerical workers. Almost 80% of all clerical workers, and 97% of those classified as stenographers, secretaries and typists are female. (See Appendix 2, Facts on Clerical Workers.)

In addition, the Commission felt that the prevalent concern for opening up non-traditional jobs for women could be misplaced if attention were not also paid to the traditional sectors of employment for women as well. Many women are now in traditional fields and many will continue to choose these fields even when placement increases in non-traditional fields. Moreover, the current disparity in the pay rates between traditional and non-traditional jobs, if unexamined, could operate to perpetuate sex segregation in the labor market. It is generally conceded that few men will enter "women's jobs" while pay rates are low. Clearly there will continue to be few opportunities for women in non-traditional sectors, if at the same time, men are not encouraged to enter sectors traditionally dominated by women.

The Commission's concern, therefore, was to examine clerical work to determine the major issues facing clerical workers. In particular we wished to examine the presumption that clerical work was low paying and determine whether this was the result of sex discrimination. The Commission also wanted to assess whether potential exists for upward mobility for clerical workers, inside the field, and in other areas of work. Finally the Commission wished to ascertain why so few men are entering the field of office work.

The Commission decided to conduct its investigation in three parts. The first was a survey designed to assess the most significant problems faced by clerical workers. The second was a series of interviews conducted with executives of major companies, representatives of unions and personnel consultants to get their views on the actuality and possibility of upward mobility in clerical work. The third component of the study was a public hearing held on October 5, 1977 in the Hall of the House at the State Capitol. At this hearing many clerical workers gave personal testimony on the problems they faced on their jobs.

The scope of this investigation is broad. As such the study runs the risk of over-generalization. Public and private sectors, both large and small businesses, have been included even though we realize that the opportunities will vary, as will the resources that can be devoted to change.

We have defined the term "clerical" broadly. We have assumed it to cover the jobs included by the Administrative Management Society in their survey of clerical work. (See table 1) We realize that the variety of jobs included in clerical work and differences inherent in different industries cannot be treated in depth. We have, however, paid specific attention to jobs related to "secretarial work," and we hope that the findings of this study will be relevant to the field as a whole.

We hope that this study will raise public awareness of the issues facing clerical workers--issues of dead end jobs, low pay, lack of dignity, lack of recognition of responsibility and restriction of opportunity. These issues, we have been convinced, reflect a large degree of sex discrimination against women. We hope that this study, brief as it is, will give clerical workers and their employers an indicaction of the need for change and some directions change might take.

The results of the study are contained in this report. The first section summarizes major findings and recommendations; the following sections outline

in detail the findings and evaluate strategies for change.

Full appendices, including the hearing transcript, and a summary of the survey data (See list of Appendices) are not attached to the report, but are available from the PCSW, upon request, for the cost of copying. Exerpts from testimony delivered at the Public Hearing have been used to introduce each section.

TABLE I Clerical job titles and descriptions used in the administrative management society survey of office salaries, 1977-78.

A MAIL CLERK - FILE CLERK
Circulates office mail, delivers messages and supplies. May process incoming or outgoing mail and operate related machines and perform other routine duties. Performs routine filing and sorting operations according to an established system. Locates and removes material upon requests and keeps records of its disposition. May perform related clerical duties.

B GENERAL CLERK B
Performs clerical duties in accordance with established procedures. Maintains records and may prepare reports from basic data which does not require the development of secondary data. Job requires considerable supervision.

C GENERAL CLERK A
Performs complex and responsible clerical duties requiring independent analysis, exercise of judgment and a detailed knowledge of department or company policies and procedures. Minimum supervision required.

D ACCOUNTING CLERK B
Checks, verifies and posts journal vouchers, accounts payable vouchers or other simple accounting data of a recurring or standard nature.

E ACCOUNTING CLERK A
Keeps a complete set of accounting records in a small office, or handles one phase of accounting in a larger unit which requires the accounting training needed to determine proper accounting entries, prepare accounting reports, analyze accounting records to determine causes of results shown, etc. May direct work of junior clerks or bookkeepers. (Excludes supervisors)

F BOOKKEEPING MACHINE OPERATOR
Operates a bookkeeping machine to record business transactions of a recurring and standardized nature, where proper posting has been indicated or is readily identifiable. May balance to control figures.

G OFFSET DUPLICATING MACHINE OPERATOR
Sets up and operates offset duplicating machines. Cleans and adjusts equipment but does not make repairs. May prepare own plates and operate auxiliary equipment, and may keep records of kind and amount of work done.

H TELEPHONE SWITCHBOARD OPERATOR
Operates a single or multiple position PBX telephone switchboard. May keep records of calls and toll charges, and may operate a paging system and perform duties of receptionist.

I TYPIST - CLERK
Types letters, reports, tabulations, and other material in which setups and terms are generally clear and follow a standard pattern. May prepare stencils or offset masters. Performs clerical duties of moderate difficulty.

J STENOGRAPHER
Transcribes from dictating equipment, or records and transcribes shorthand dictation involving a normal range of business vocabulary. May perform copy typing or clerical work of moderate difficulty incidental to primary stenographic duties. May operate as a member of a centralized stenographic area. May perform the secretarial function for a small group.

K SECRETARY B
Performs secretarial duties for a member of middle management. General requirements are the same as Secretary A (listed in opposite column), but limited to the area of responsibility of the principal.

L SECRETARY A
Performs secretarial duties for a top level executive or a person responsible for a major function or geographic operation. Does work of a confidential nature and relieves principal of designated administrative details. Requires initiative, judgment, knowledge of company practices, policy and organization.

M CORRESPONDENCE SECRETARY
Operates all types of automated equipment in a Word Processing Center. Is responsible for transcribing and copy typing the many types of work handled in the Center.

N KEY PUNCH OPERATORS B
Operates an alphabetic or numerical key punch machine to record pre-coded or readily usable data following generally standardized procedures. May verify the work of others, using a verifying machine.

O KEY PUNCH OPERATOR A
Operates an alphabetic or numerical key punch or verifier to record or verify complex or uncoded data working from source material which may not be arranged for key punching. Selects appropriate number and kinds of cards. Follows a pattern of operations generally standardized but frequently including rules, exceptions, and special instructions which demand operator's close attention.

P TABULATING MACHINE OPERATOR
Sets up, operates and wires a variety of punched card equipment, including tabulators and multipliers. Wires boards from diagrams prepared by others for routine jobs, uses prewired boards on complex or repetitive jobs. May locate and correct job difficulties and assist in training less experienced operators.

Q COMPUTER OPERATOR B
Operates computers utilizing established programs or programs under development. Loads computer and manipulates control switch on console in accordance with programmed instructions. Observes functioning of equipment. Detects nature of errors or equipment failure and makes normal console adjustments. Maintains necessary operating records.

R COMPUTER OPERATOR A
Operates computer utilizing established programs or programs under development. Oversees loading of computer and manipulation of controls. Detects nature of errors or equipment failure. May instruct or give limited directions to less experienced operators.

S PROGRAMMER
With general supervision, analyzes and defines programs for electronic data processing equipment. Is generally competent in most phases of programming to work on his own, and only requires general guidance for the balance of the activities. Conducts analyses of sufficient detail of all defined systems specifications and develops block diagrams and machine logic flow charts, codes, prepares test data, tests and debugs programs. Revises and refines programs as required and documents all procedures used throughout the computer program when it is formally established. Evaluates and modifies existing programs to take into account changes in systems requirements. May give technical assistance to lower level classifications. Normally progresses from this classification to a Lead programmer.

T SYSTEMS ANALYST
Under close supervision, assists in devising computer system specifications and record layouts. Is qualified to work on several phases of systems analysis, but requires guidance and direction for other phases. Conducts studies and analyses of existing and proposed operations. Prepares all levels of computer block diagram and may assist in the preparation of machine logic flow charting

II. CONCLUSION, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have concluded that there is sex discrimination in the field of clerical work. Some discrimination is overt -- the refusal to promote on the basis of sex-female, or to hire men into clerical work. A great deal of discrimination in clerical work, however, stems from a systemic discrimination against women. Over supply due to the sex-segregation in the labor market and the sex-stereotypes that surround the roles of clerical workers are key factors in the undervaluation of clerical work and in the unwillingness to promote clerical workers which the study revealed.

These factors underlie the findings made by the PCSW, outlined below:

1. Clerical work is low paid, especially when the skills, knowledge, training and responsibility required for clerical work, are compared to jobs traditionally held by men. Secretarial compensation is particularly inadequate. This low pay is part of the historial discrimination against all women workers.

2. Large numbers of clerical workers are performing work far beyond the requirements of their positions and are not being compensated for it. As a result, clerical jobs are not adequately defined on the basis of work performed.

3. There is significant desire for upward mobility among clericals of all age groups; this includes the desire for more responsible clerical positions and for professional positions. These desires for upward mobility are being thwarted by the failure to recognize higher level clerical functions such as administrative assistant, stereotyped attitudes about women clerical workers, arbitrary degree and exam requirements, lack of training and information on job opportunities. Low expectations about and inadequate recognition of the asperations, abilities and job duties of clerical employees are based on sex-role stereotypes which are incorrect and discriminatory.

4. Very few men are entering the field of clerical work, both because it is assumed to be "women's work", and stigmatized as such, and because they can find better-paying work elsewhere.

5. Although the numbers of minority women in clerical work have been increasing there is underutilization of minority women in clerical work, especially hispanic persons. There is underutilization of minority persons in the better-paying positions.

6. Part-time workers are particular victims of discrimination because they are not given pro-rated benefits or full coverage under labor laws.

Recommendations: The PCSW recommends the following;

1. Adoption of objective methods of job evaluation, and utilization of these in setting salaries for all jobs. Accordingly clerical pay should be increased to remedy the effects of discrimination.

2. Job evaluations should be continuously performed and mechanisms for up-grading developed.

3. Written job descriptions should be developed and reviewed regularly.

4. The job of secretary should be based on duties performed, not on the status of the person served.

5. Professional level administrative secretary and assistant positions should be adopted.

6. Career ladders should be developed throughout the clerical series and beyond into related professional jobs with recognition of job experience as a basis for promotion and removal of non-job related barriers to promotion such as unnecessary degrees or testing requirements.

7. Career ladders should be supported by training and career counselling and all job openings should be publicized and posted in order to insure access by women with experience from lower level jobs.
8. Affirmative Action plans should be adopted, including provisions for upward mobility programs.

9. Career education should encourage young men and women to be aware of a full-range of careers, including encouraging young men to enter clerical work. Sex-neutralization in course titles and counseling materials should be promoted in all areas, including the substitution of the term "office work", instead of "clerical work". Young men and women entering clerical work should be encouraged to obtain higher level skills.

10. Companies should experiment with work experience programs to encourage young men to enter clerical work.

11. Part-timers should be afforded equal employment status and rights as full-timers and given benefits on a pro-rated basis.

12. Increase in amount and range of child care services.

13. Experiments with flexible work schedules should be encouraged.

III. EXPLANATION OF FINDINGS

The two major areas of concern to clerical workers, revealed both by the survey and the public hearing, were low pay and lack of opportunity for upward mobility. Nearly 70% of those surveyed ranked low pay and lack of upward mobility among their top three problems. Over a third of all the problems identified at the public hearing concerned lack of opportunity for advancement and almost 20%, low wages.

33% ranked boredom as their third most significant problem. This we feel is largely a reflection of the way in which much office work has been fragmented as the industry has expanded and to the low pay and the absence of career paths and promotional opportunity.

Performing personal tasks for employers, unwanted sexual advances and hazardous working conditions were also identified in the survey as significant problems.

The report that follows focuses primarily on the two areas of greatest concern to clerical workers, low pay and lack of upward mobility. Since, sex discrimination plays a major role as a source of low pay and the lack of upward mobility, the Permanent Commission on the Status of Women feels that these two areas should be of greatest concern to this agency. Accordingly, other issues noted above are addressed insofar as they relate to the two primary concerns.

A. Low Pay

> "Other than the fact that clerical work has been stereotyped, 'for women only,' the immediate and future monetary gains are disincentives to anyone planning a career."
>
> "I see capable secretaries who worked 30 to 35 years in this institution who are barely making $8,000 a year. I find fewer younger secretaries are applying for jobs. Those that do are totally dissatisfied with the pay scale and, surprisingly enough, within the past month I have had two secretaries leave for blue collar jobs because the pay was so much better." Secretary, University

As revealed by both the survey and the public hearing, clerical workers felt that their pay was low; low in absolute terms but especially low compared to the skills they had and were required to have; and low when compared to what they felt they would be paid if they were men. Clerical workers were concerned that years of service and increasing job duties were not reflected by increased pay.

Our study revealed that, indeed, wages for clerical work are low. The survey revealed that nearly 50% of the clerical workers surveyed earned under $8.000 a year, and only 14% earned $10,000 a year or more. The American Management Survey found that the 1977 average weekly salary for clerical workers in the U.S. was $164.00, or $8,528 per annum (including higher salary computer work); reflecting a range from a weekly average of $125.00 ($6.500 per annum) for a file clerk to $208.00 ($10,800 per annum) for a Secretary A. This compares unfavorably with the average hourly wage for Connecticut manufacturing and production workers, including both organized and unorganized, skilled and unskilled blue collar workers, which the month before the public hearing was $5.63 per hour or more than $225 per week, $11,700 per annum.

Dispite these low salary levels the clerical workers surveyed were well educated and had significant experience in clerical work. Two thirds of those surveyed had education beyond high school, and 40% had ten or more years of clerical experience.

Sex Discrimination in Pay

> "I am your right hand that keepsthings going -- all the big and little things. I am a fixture, a piece of the furniture, and you feel I can be replaced just as easily. You overlook all the jobs I actually do that there is a title for but have given me no right to these titles or their compensation, and you insist I am making good money---for a female. My needs are the same in the area of job fulfillment, satisfaction, recognition and a decent paycheck as any man's. Neither I nor any other female in the job market works for a hobby. I worked for you for 20 years. I speak of any job today and every job I have ever held. The situation is identical. There has been no change. I am making good money---for a woman. Why does my sex control the amount of compensation I receive?" (Bookkeeper--small, private company)

The survey and the public hearing revealed that at every level of clerical work there was a strong perception that sex discrimination was a component of undervaluation of clerical work.

A finding of sex discrimination in determining the salaries of clerical workers became especially apparent when clerical work was compared with jobs of similar skills or educational requirements held predominantly by men, and even more apparent when compared with jobs held by men but requiring substantially lower skill or educational levels.

One example offered at the public hearing was drawn from State service where starting or entry-level Maintainer jobs involving basic physical tasks and with no qualifications paid $255.05 bi-weekly ($6,656 per annum), and women employed as clerks required to be high school graduates with reading, writing and typing skills earn $232.86 bi-weekly ($6,032 per annum).

Testimony at the public hearing also revealed that several companies which had two salary scales, one for clerical work and another one for the mechanical operation, had in effect a "male" and a "female" salary scale, the clerical occupations being dominated by females and the mechanical operations by males.

In one example, when this issue was addressed through union contract negotiations, there was a substantial increase in clerical salaries. In 1974 before the change, a janitor was making $4.60 an hour, as compared to

a clerk handling detailed accounting procedures involved in billing customers who was making $4.80 an hour. When these positions were reviewed on an equal basis by applying the same objective, criteria, the janitor's salary became $5.76 an hour and the clerk's $6.32 an hour.

At another large company similar changes were made in 1972 under a union contract designed to obtain equal recognition for women's work by eliminating substantial pay inequities. Starting clerical jobs were raised from $3.49 an hour to $4.21.

The study revealed several aspects of the problem. The universal practice of basing clerical salaries on "the going rate" for clerical work could indeed reflect a large degree of sex discrimination. The labor market for clerical work is predominately female and must reflect undervaluation due to discriminatory attitudes and to oversupply which follows sex segregation in the labor market and which has traditionally driven down women's wages.

Companies, for example, in the Hartford area join together to fund a common survey of each other and only offer competitive wage rates if they cannot get the type of worker they need in a particular area. The Labor Department reports that employers generally list a clerical job low and only raise the wage if they are unable to get help.

Oversupply, especially for lower skilled jobs in the clerical field will continue, since young women continue to be encouraged to select clerical work, and increasing numbers of older women re-entering the labor market have only clerical skills. These conditions of oversupply will obviously drive down wages, especially at the lower paying levels and this, in turn, will keep down all clerical wages. Oversupply is clearly the result of the artificial restriction of women to certain sectors of the labor market with a limited number of jobs.

The problem of oversupply relates, in particular, to the oversupply of semiskilled clerical workers. Since many students are taught at least a

smattering of clerical skills in high schools, most can be utilized in some fashion at the low levels of office work. Very often, those who have received either comprehensive training in high school or additional clerical training outside are penalized because the entry-level clerical jobs are paid salaries based on the easy availability of people who can perform the lowest level of work. Companies apparently perfer the route of padding their clerical labor force with relatively unskilled personnel paid at very low wages to higher pay for fewer, more skilled employees. The continued availability of such unskilled personnel not only contributes to the oversupply at the lower levels, but by keeping bottom wage scales low, continues to pull more skilled salary levels downwards.

Testimony from business educators at the public hearing also stressed the importance of ensuring that those entering clerical work left high school with a broader range of clerical skills, and they urged companies to recognize and compensate these skills. They also stressed the importance of encouraging young women in high school, as well as young men, not to settle for the lower paying jobs of typist/clerk, with a starting salary of $120.00 a week, when they could achieve a starting salary for computer operator of $160.00 or more a week, with better opportunities for promotion.

The need for young women to consider a broader range of careers outside clerical work, to encourage a closer match between supply and demand, emerged as a very significant factor.

In addressing the issue of low pay in the clerical field, it should also be noted that the absence of unionization has meant that there has been no means to correct for the impact of oversupply. Indeed, on the question of undervaluation, a bookkeeper, who had left work to acquire training, only to find she could not be compensated for it, because companies preferred to offer small amounts of on the job training, argued that if bookkeepers had organized on the lines of craft unions, they could have protected standards and consequently compensation by requiring and controlling training.

Testimony revealed that clerical workers who were unionized received significantly higher levels of pay. Starting sarlaries for the lowest grade of file clerk in one unionized insurance company were $147.00 ($7.644 per annum), going to $160.00, ($8,372 per annum) with an average clerical salary of $9,000 per annum.

We should also note that the mecnanisms utilized by many companies to evaluate jobs for compensation purposes would not necessarily correct for sex stereotyped assumptions about the value of clerical work.

It was apparent that many companies relied on purely subjective evaluation mechanisms such as "committee discussions," which could reflect discriminatory assumptions. In some cases, those who used objective criteria, did not apply them across the board to all jobs, but evaluated clerical (women's) and operative (men's) jobs separately. In addition, even where large sums of money were being paid to devise sophisticated evaluation systems, ultimately they were being used only to "rank jobs" within a similar series and salaries were still assigned according to current labor market values of the series.

Clerical Workers are not paid for all the work they do

> "As more legislation is passed, more functions are given to each office. Perhaps more professionals are hired or the head of the unit receives a new larger title with a larger salary to go along with it. But what happens to the clerical staff, who has the burden of producing more labor? They keep the same title and the same take home pay." Administrative Assistant, State Service

The study revealed other factors contributing to low pay. The survey and the public hearing revealed that a strong part of people's concern with low pay was that many clerical workers felt they were not being paid for work they were indeed performing.

Over half of those surveyed said they were performing duties not in their job description; and three quarters stated their workload had increased in complexity, but 85% had not received a raise in pay to compensate for this. The survey, suggested that job titles often did not correspond adequately to work performed. Many people, for example, were performing tasks of writing

(59%), reading (40%), administration (33%), and payroll/bookkeeping (26%), not adequately reflected by their job titles. For example, only 9% classified themselves as administrative assistants, compared to 33% who stated they performed significant amounts of administrative work; and only 2.21% stated they were classified as bookkeepers, but 26% said they did payroll and bookkeeping work.

The study identified several aspects of the problem. There appears, for example, to be a very varied use of job titles in the clerical field. Even though the Dictionary of Occupational Titles outlines the basis for job classes in the clerical field, (See Appendix 2), our studies revealed that there is no common usage or understanding of the basis for different jobs in the office work field. People in jobs called clerk, secretary or stenographer often can be found performing similar work and people with the same title may perform greatly different work. Pay scales are similarly inconsistent. The PCSW survey, for example, revealed that similar proportions of those termed clerk, secretary and administrative assistant had similar levels of education and fell within similar pay categories.

Loose or poorly written job specifications or no job specifications at all exacerbate the problem. The terms "and related duties" or "duties as directed", permit the continued expansion of job tasks without re-classification. The survey revealed significant numbers who had no written job descriptions.

Clearly written and specific job descriptions provided to employees would help this situation, as would frequent job evaluations, to keep up with rapidly changing job demands. Some companies, attempting to address this issue require both the employee and the supervisor to write job evaluations every six months. Unionized clerical workers also reported the utilization of contract clauses requiring re-evaluation. In situations where these provisions were used, a better match between job titles and classifications and work performed appeared to exist.

Moreover, the nature of the work itself in the clerical field contributes to these problems. In many cases, organizations are expanding so fast or the techniques involved are changing so rapidly that there is, indeed, no resemblance between the old and the new job even though job titles remain the same. An example was given by a bookkeeper who argued that her work has been mechanized and required increased skill, but this had never been recognized. In another case, the work of clerks in an insurance company has been completely computerized. When these jobs were re-evaluated through a union arbitration, salaries were raised by $3,000 each.

In addition, since increasingly complex tasks can be learned on the job, in many situations, clerical workers increase their ability without additional training, or job promotion.

The fact that there appeared to be no regular salary review exacerbrates this problem.

The survey revealed for example, that uniform, regular salary reviews were not commonplace. 41% stated that there were no regular salary reviews, and 10% did not know. Almost two-thirds, (65%) did not receive bonuses or cost of living increases, and over half (54%) did not receive merit increases. Almost one-third of the survey (32%) worked over-time, but well over one-third of these reported that they did not get paid for overtime. Absence of payment of overtime was reported as a particular problem for part-timers.

The skill of clerical workers is not recognized

> "We as clericals know we are important. We do provide vital services and we are career oriented. We are professionals and we should receive salaries that are justifiable."
> Secretary, small business

The failure to recognize people performing more complex work than they are paid is a particular problem in the more skilled areas of clerical work.

Many clericals indicated that they enjoyed clerical work and wished to continue. But, they felt there was no recognition of the skill, complexity and responsibility of jobs at the top of clerical job classifications. Even

though, a clerical worker might be running an office or performing other responsible administrative tasks, they were still categorized indiscriminately as stenographers, secretaries or bookkeepers.

The structure of the clerical industry can, indeed, be likened to a broad-based pyramid, with the mass of jobs at the bottom, and very limited numbers at the top. The majority of clerical workers are concentrated in a very narrow salary band ranging from $6,000-$8.000 per annum.

Irrespective of education, years of experience, or years on the job, very few clerical employees move to higher salary levels. The survey revealed that there is only a marginal relationship between factors such as age, experience, length of time on the job and increase in pay. Even though there is a slight increase with length of time on the job and age it is small, indeed. For example, only 17% of those who have been in their present jobs over ten years earn $3.00-$4.00 an hour, while 55% earn $4.00-$5.00 an hour. On the other hand 50% of those with under 5 years in their present job earn $3.00-$4.00 an hour while 30% earn $4.00-$5.00 an hour.

A similar slight increase occurred with age and total clerical experience Although it should be noted that 27% of those with over ten years clerical experience and 34% of those over 50 years old earn between $3.00-$4.00 an hour.

There could be opportunities in clerical work

> "Low pay, lack of opportunity for advancement, and lack of job satisfaction are factors which need not be associated with clerical work." Bookkeeper, small office

Our study found that there is a need for skilled clerical jobs requiring responsibility, independent decision making, administration and often technical skills. However, this is not reflected in job titles.

Where positions such as Administrative or Executive Secretary are recognized, salaries are higher. An Administrative or Executive Secretary in a large company could be receiving $12,000-$15,000 annually.

The problem, however, is that very few of these positions are identified in clerical work. In State service for example, there are 2,139 Typist II's at a salary range of $114.-$142. per week ($5,928-$7,384 per annum), but only 10 Secretary III's at a salary range of $190. to $235. per week, ($9,880-$12,300 per annum).

Secretarial work is stereotyped

> "I am still stereotyped as a Secretary who is doing only clerical work when, in truth, I am a co-ordinator, an accountant, a writer, a public relations person, a magazine editor, as well as a damned good typist." Secretary, private school

Perhaps the most striking fact to emerge from the survey was the understanding that clerical employees felt that the stereotyped which surround clerical work directly contribute to monitary undervaluation, especially of higher level clerical positions such as secretary. The issue of sex role stereotyping by employers and societal assumptions about the status of clerical employees and its impact on women in clerical occupations was the third most frequently mentioned issue at the public hearing. Clerical workers, especially secretaries, felt their jobs were undervalued and often stigmatized with discriminatory stereotypes about women. They felt that clerical work was undervalued because women performed the work, and also because women were assumed to be "secondary" wage earners.

The job of secretary appeared to suffer most from stereotypes that draw heavily on traditional male-female sex roles and include the inequity often inherent in those roles. In many cases secretaries felt that their functions were viewed as providing personal support for their bosses. Work demands consequently assumed the nature of personal favors. In some cases this led to inappropriate work requests such as coffee making, shopping for the boss, or even according to one testifier, research for the boss's daughter's term paper! /Personnel agencies often evaluate secretaries on looks and not skills. It was reported that some agencies ranked secretaries to be sent to companies on "attractiveness" scales. It was felt, especially by older women that many executives want

"cute, young chicks." Until this year the alternative title to secretary in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles was "Gal Friday". Newspaper advertisments provide another area for change. All too often ads read "Gal Friday wanted, light skills". In some instances, the expectation of social forms had extended to the sexual arena.

There was some disagreement amongst clerical workers as to what extent the performance of personal tasks were objectionable. Some viewed these as assisting busy executives and were pleased to be helpful, whilst others felt that they should not be asked or expected to perform these tasks. There was general agreement, however, these tasks should not be expected, but should develop from the personal relationship of secretary to employer.

In many cases the antagonism expressed by some secretaries about the continued expectation of the performance of personal tasks, stemmed not from their objection to being helpful, but from their understanding that the primary identification of their job as a dependent service extension to their boss led to an undervaluation of their objective skills and actual job performance.

Personal favors can certainly be viewed as transferring stereotypes about women's roles from home to office. The parallels between the roles of housewife and secretary become clear. Certainly these are roles that have been considered beyond the realm of payment.

Moreover, it was almost uniformly agreed that these tasks were not central to the real work which secretaries perform or the skills required to perform them. On consideration, it was agreed, that the organizational, decision-making and facilitating skills of secretarial work were actually more important to the smooth running of the office than coffee-making.

A further problem in the undervaluation of higher levels of secretarial work stem, we suspect, from the infusion of sex-stereotyped assumptions in job evaluation. First we should note that "paper-pushing skills" have traditionally been valued less highly than machine skills. In addition levels of sophistication in the use of clerical skills are not generally recognized.

Whatever the level of skill or responsibility the job requires, clerical work always involves some typing and phone work-skills which are not highly valued. Clerical jobs, therefore, have tended to be categorized around the least valued and most commonly shared skills, consequently ignoring differences in responsibility and tasks outside these skills. If you spend your day on the phone, if you type (and if you are female), you are a "secretary", no matter how skilled the typing or how much initiative the phone work involves. This has enabled clerical jobs to be classified by their least skilled aspects and not by their most skilled. Moreover job evaluation of clerical jobs seldom takes into account levels of independent decision making, organizational, administrative or problem-solving skills.

This has clearly inhibited the recognition of more skilled office jobs such as administrative or executive secretary or administrative assistant. We might also point out that our study revealed few women in the business of job evaluation and a certain resistance amongst the men we interviewed in this field to reorganizing the higher level skills of these jobs.

An additional problem in the classification of the job of secretary is that it has traditionally been based on service to one person. Following this assumption, the recognition of higher levels of secretarial work has depended on the increased status of the person served. In state classifications, for example, only Commissioners and Bureau Chiefs are permitted "secretaries", everybody else is assigned "a stenographer", regardless of the work performed.

At a certain state in organizational development, this assumption may have been valid. However, our studies have revealed that today this assumption provides a major barrier to many in the clerical field, for example, as an organization grows, there are inevitably fewer people at the top, while there may be a tremendous increase in clerical and administrative responsibilities at the lower level. Moreover, the assumption is not necessarily job related. It is, indeed, often the case, that those in the lower management hierarchies

are more overburdened and place greater responsibilities on their secretarial personnel than those at the top. In addition, the organizational structure of most modern corporations and governmental organizations requires complex secretarial duties to be performed to groups of people, committees, departments or units and not solely to one person.

We have found, therefore, that there is a need to re-examine the traditional practice of basing the hierarchy of secretarial work on the status of the person served and not on the work performed. Moreover, we would suggest that there is a need to re-examine the nature of secretarial tasks, to consider whether these tasks are utilized by groups, such as committees, or other collective clientle. In addition, we recommend that attempts should be made to distinguish the point at which secretarial functions, performed either for individuals or groups, become administrative in nature and warrant the utilization of different classifications such as administrative secretary or assistant or aide. We would recommend broader use of such titles. This might ,indeed, not only open up career in clerical work, but also help redress the stereotypes that have developed from secretaries, (women), serving one boss, (generally male).

No incentive for change

The combination of all these factors contribute to the continuing failure to increase clerical salaries. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the clerical field has not been given a great deal of attention in terms of personnel, management or administration. Reviews of pay scales and job reclassifications are generally performed in the clerical area last.

Since industries utilize such large numbers of clerical employees, the incentive for economic exploitation is evident. As long as the work is being performed there is little incentive to move clerical employees to higher paying classifications. And this continuing pattern of low pay is directly linked to the fact that the clerical labor force is predominately female.

It was clearly apparent from the public hearing that many of those who

testified felt strongly that it was because they were women that it was possible for employers to pay wage rates below the level required by the skill of the job and below that paid to men performing similar or less skilled work.

B. Upward Mobility

> "We have made very little progress in the area of being considered competent and capable individuals. We are merely women who are there. I see no signs of any recognition that we are possible candidates for openings in the many administrative positions that are filled regularly. In fact, I find we are not considered at all.....clerical workers are stopped at the very threshhold where decisions are made.....our careers have peaked before they have really begun." Clerk, Municipal Employment

> "There is a lack of opportunity for advancement in financial remuneration and lack of recognition that many of us even have a desire to reach a higher status. We must address ourselves to the problems of lack of appreciation and lack of supportiveness for our individual careers and must forever take away the stigma which seems to accompany the title of clerk." Clerk, Municipal Employment

Many women clerical workers/who participated in our study indicated that they were eager to move beyond the clerical field. Through the survey and the public hearing the overwhelming majority of clerical workers expressed their desire to advance themselves. 65% of those surveyed ranked lack of promotion and upward mobility as one of their top three problems. At the public hearing, concerns for upward mobility were 30% of all the concerns expressed.

We found considerable frustration amongst clericals who were either performing professional tasks, unrecognized; training professionals, or prohibited from moving into professional or supervisory jobs which they felt they were capable of doing. Their deep frustration stemmed from their experience that doors to advancement were closed. 35% of those surveyed stated they would like to move up in their present companies and 20% intended to go to school to advance; but only 11% thought there would be opportunity to advance in their present place of employment.

Some company representatives questioned whether clericals really "wanted" advancement. Certainly it was recognized by both clerical workers and their employers that women were sometimes "their own worst enemies." It was recognized, for example, that women sometimes internalized the stereotypes that surround clerical work and fail to demand upward mobility. "I am just a secretary" sounds similarly denigrating as "I am just a housewife". It was also clear that the variety of situations in which clerical workers find themselves - married, wealthy, poor, single, educated, uneducated, young and old and so on - are bound to lead to a divergence of attitudes. But, as with any issue of raising perceptions and overcoming stereotypes, we can only measure or assess desire for change when the systems which solidify stereotypes are re-examined and the doors are opened and are perceived to be open.

The overwhelming sentiment expressed through the PCSW study was that there were large numbers of qualified and competent women eager and able for advancement. Their hopes were not being met.

We have found that within the field of "white collar work" women are clearly segregated into certain lower paying occupations.

Within the clerical area, women are dominant as

- bookkeeping and billing machine operators (89.6%)
- calculating machine operators (90.8%)
- keypunch operators (89.4%)
- secretaries (97.6%)
- stenographers (93.4%)
- typists (94.2%)

Whereas, men are dominant as

- computer and peripheral equipment operators (70.8%)
- insurance adjustors, examiners, investigators (74.4%)
- real estate appraisers (95.9%)
- shipping and receiving clerks (85.7%)
- stock clerks and storekeepers (77.6%)

Clearly this segregation contributes to the disparity between men's and women's wages in office work. The average male white collar worker earns $10,627 a year, compared to $6,469 for the average woman white collar worker. (1970 Census)

Many clerical workers clearly felt that through their clerical work they had become familiar with a variety of professional jobs from which they were excluded. Many felt, for example, that much administrative work, personnel work, business management or accounting was indeed closely related to various clerical tasks. Those with keyboard skills, including those who worked with computerized typewriter and data processing equipment, felt there might be opportunities for them in computer work. Many white collar tasks, such as insurance claims, personnel and sales work were closely related to the tasks of many clericals.

A variety of factors were held responsible for reinforcing the walls around the clerical ghetto.

Overt sex discrimination was indicated as a major barrier to promotion. Almost one quarter of those surveyed felt that sex discrimination was a barrier to promotion, and almost two-thirds of the 7% who reported unwanted sexual advances, felt that refusing such advances barred promotion. Seventeen percent of those surveyed felt that age discrimination was a barrier and 8% pointed to race discrimination

The hearing revealed poignantly the fact that even though women clericals trained incoming professionals they themselves were not considered for professional positions.

Often employers were simply unwilling to promote clerical workers because they did not want to invest money in clerical employees. A clerical worker from a large educational institution in New Haven, for example, testified that two supervisory positions had become available both paying $11,000 a year. Instead of filling these with administrative assistants who were qualified for the position, the university chose to re-write the job descriptions involved and thereby give the work to two administrative assistants earning only $8,000 a year.

Next to stereotyped attitudes towards women and the persistent

practice of working clericals out-of-class, the most serious barrier to promotion perceived by clerical workers were job qualifications and exams which are not job related. In particular, the requirement of degree qualifications presented a barrier to many clericals. The large majority of office workers, as revealed by the PCSW survey have high school, secretarial and some college education, but many have not completed full college programs. On the other hand, the nature of office work, as support work for professional, managerial and administrative tasks gives many clerical workers a significant opportunity to learn more complex skills as they work.

State and municipal employees felt this problem particularly acutely, as exams often imposed a different but equally unrelated set of job requirements. Employees in the private sector felt strongly about the degree requirements.

The absence of training available to assist clericals to move to other positions was identified as another significant barrier. 44% of those surveyed stated that their companies did not offer training programs. Many of those who testified complained that although training programs were provided for management and professional personnel, clerical employees were excluded. In State Service, for example, the Tuition Reimbursement Program which provides reimbursement for college tuition is only provided for courses which enhance current job responsibilities. Consequently, clerical employees are allowed to use this program only to improve their clerical skills, but not to assist them in moving to new or related fields.

It was also agreed that the stereotype of the secretary could inhibit upward mobility insofar as the stereotype of the secretary and of her job focuses on the person she serves and not on the objective skills the job requires. This stereotype makes it difficult for both the employer and often the secretary to reconceptualize her role as one of independent decision-making. She is often viewed as an extension of her boss; often,

indeed, advising him or her in quite techincal issues; but always in a subservient role and as a personal aide, not a technical consultant. In addition, to promote a secretary to the position of administrative secretary often proves a psychologically threatening act to a male employer. Many managers apparently feel comfortable with the notion of their secretary as an extension of themselves, and they feel uncomfortable promoting a secretary to a position of independence; they feel as if they are letting go a part of their job or even of themselves.

In fact, if you accept the stereotype of a secretary as someone who gets coffee, makes her boss feel good, and takes care of him, she is unlikely to be viewed as a candidate for an administrative position. If, however, you look beneath the stereotype and see her as possessing organizational planning and scheduling skills her possibility for advancement broadens.

An example provided by one company concerned a secretary who had been promoted to the position of a systems engineer. Her secretarial position was analyzed as one which gave her organizational and planning skills, thus equipping her to be a systems engineer, a job which required consulting on the organization of work.

Clearly if job descriptions and perceptions of clerical work could identify more the actual work performed, the stereotypes would be less of a barrier to upward mobility.

Another serious barrier perceived by clerical employees was the absence of information about career possibilities and job openings. Forty percent of those surveyed felt that lack of information was a barrier to promotion and 25% felt specifically that the absence of job posting was a barrier. In a related area the fact that 12%, of those surveyed did not know if their company offered training and 16% did not know if their company offered counseling is significant.

The study revealed that many clerical workers had a clear idea of the

mechanisms which could help in overcoming these barriers. The study also provided examples where dramatic increases in the promotion of clericals were achieved by adopting various of these mechanisms.

Need for Career Ladders

Chief amongst these was the development of career ladders. A career ladder means the conceptualization of jobs in a series that will allow employees to move from one level to another thus by gaining skills through on the job experience at the lower levels with coordinated training programs. Clearly, several career ladders might begin in the clerical field and move beyond it to a variety of related career areas.

The career ladder concept is important in helping employees to set goals for themselves, make career choices and achieve their goals. This is accomplished by helping to bridge the gap between clerical work and related careers especially where the primary route to upward mobility is on the job experience.

The notion of career ladders is not meant to imply that all employees must begin at the bottom and move through every level. Nor is it meant as a rigid concept. Companies which have developed the concept have developed several career series which overlap or interrelate at various points.

But the successful development of career ladders requires the identification of barriers to upward mobility and the establishment of policy and programs to support change and career mobility within specific career areas and between career areas.

In some areas, for example, there are large "gaps" in potential job series, such as in the accounting field, where there is often no intermediate position between an accounting clerk and Accountant. In State Service, for example, accounting clerks earn under $8,000, and there are no intermediate positions leading to an Accountant position at a starting salary of $15,000. One state employee who testified had managed to make this transition, but it had taken her 11 years, serveral job changes, and a degree.

The study also suggested the need to explore a professional level of clerical positions such as administrative assistant or aide, or executive assistant. Such positions are common in political fields although these jobs are mainly held by men. However, such positions could be used in many contexts.

Certainly the development of a higher level of secretarial, administrative secretary and administrative aide or assistant positions has enabled some clericals to make an easier transition, to professional jobs. A variety of such "bridge positions" or classes may need to be established depending on the work involved.

Several of the large private companies have, indeed, begun to experiment with a secretarial career ladder, starting with a clerk position and moving up to administrative secretary and administrative assistant positions. The salary range is from approximately $6,500 to $15,000. These companies report that at the top end of the ladder there are opportunities for administrative secretary and assistant positions, that is, these positions can be well utilized by the company. In many cases, they have moved away entirely from the concept of serving one person to the concept of serving a group or a unit. Other organizations have retained career series developed around the concept of secretarial work as support services for one or a limited number of people, and developed an alternative career ladder for administrative secretaries.

The concept of career ladders will also be meaningless if job requirements are not examined to ensure they are job related. In particular, the requirement of a degree needs examination. At the very least, the possibility of an alternative experience requirement should be considered. Many companies have, in fact, abandoned absolute degree requirements for many jobs. They have found that evaluations of on the job experience and training have been quite sufficient for all but a limited number of highly specialized positions. This practice was universally found to increase opportunities for upward mobility

for clericals. Companies had, indeed, found that they were promoting clericals to the level of jobs previously reserved for college graduates who in turn were being moved into higher salary levels.

Maximum provision for on-the-job training will also need to be made. Course work will need to be supplemented by the utilization of training positions. The State of Connecticut, for example, has established a pre-professional position for this purpose. When an entry level professional position is open, an Agency now has the option of placing an employee in that position, at a lowered salary, for a period of two years, during which the employee undergoes training as well as working on the job. The position is designed to allow employees who have worked at very different skill levels but in related jobs, to move to professional jobs; for example, by utilizing this position, a secretary in an agency responsible for law enforcement could move to an investigatory position.

The option of degree training obviously will continue to be a necessity for many jobs, and, accordingly it is not surprising that our study indicated that the circumstances under which companies make college training available have a significant impact on upward mobility. Companies which have offered total or partial tuition reimbursement, in advance, have found a large increase in the number of women and minorities taking degree courses. Significant problems, however, have arisen from the fact that employees are seldom permitted to take degree courses during the day. This has proved prohibitive to many women with family responsibilities. Even if companies are not prepared to give time in addition to payment for college credits, a flexible attitude could be adopted toward making up time. Certainly, in many cases, women, in particular, are prohibited from taking college courses through secheduling problems. We do not consider the attitude of "well, if you want to make it, you have to put yourself out," a sufficient justification for inflexibility which effectively bars women from acquiring education.

Crucial to "opening" the system for clerical workers is clearly information; first and foremost, information about job openings.

Companies which have developed mechanisms for opening up information about positions have increased promotions from within dramatically. The most successful systems discovered in our study were those where job announcements clearly stated job functions, requirements and salary levels. Preference for internal hiring also clearly increased opportunity for office workers.

The most successful job posting schemes were those that were part of a transfer system. Under the most sophisticated schemes, all jobs, except very high level or specialized positions were posted. Applicants could place themselves in a transfer system, and their names would be submitted to those with vacant positions. Most systems obliged the job requester to consider internal candidates first and to submit written reasons for refusal. In addition, when a job became vacant some companies would inform the job filler of the affirmative action goals for that department and of the protected classes where the goals had not been met. Certain companies also imposed limits on the time that employees could stay on their old jobs once they had been promoted. This clearly avoided the common situations where promotions became merged with old responsibilities.

Information which assists employees to plan careers is also significant. The publication of career ladders that employees can review is an obvious part of this. Although we found no company containing job information, which had clearly published career ladders, one company did have a book which it attempted to make readily available, the book was organized by occupational area. In each area job descriptions and salaries were listed, in addition to actual job openings, past and expected future activity in job vacancies and expansion in that department were indicated. This appeared to us to be the kind of information that should be readily available to employees.

In some cases we found a certain reticence on behalf of management to publish career ladders and other information on job opportunities, including salaries. Their fear was that such information would falsely raise expectations, and also if employees saw clearly that opportunities were limited, they would move on. But the PCSW study revealed that current levels of the frustration of expectations were already extremely high, and large numbers of clerical workers expect to leave their jobs. Moreover realistic appraisals of promotional opportunities and employee potential by the employee involved would indeed relieve much of the frustration which stems from an inability to assess the situation at all.

Companies who had made progress in affirmative action also recognized the need for career counselling. Such counselling was seen as needed to clearly explain opportunities to employees, assist them in determining realistic career choices and identifying personal or technical skills that will be needed to reach these goals.

It must be recognized, however, that there is a limit to the extent that companies may find it productive to engage in extensive career counseling on a one-to-one basis. The study concluded, therefore, that every attempt should be made to make necessary information available to employees themselves, in order to allow them to make their own career choices. Utilization of group workshops is another option.

By adopting these measures some of the larger insurance companies were beginning to open up professional level jobs for clericals. One large company, for example, had increased promotions from the clerical field by job posting, career development workshops (which encouraged all employees, particularly women and minorities to assess their potential, identify issues which might hinder their development, and set for themselves a career or life plan), career path information, career opportunity catelogues interest testing and counseling and job skills as opposed to degree requirements for selection. Through these measures 1,709 women who were previously

clerical employees had moved into entry level professional positions which totalled almost seven thousand.

C. Sex Segregation in Clerical Work

Clerical work is clearly sex segregated. In fact, 78% of all clerical workers are women. Since the turn of the century clerical work has become a predominantly female occupation. (See Appendix 4) Our study has established that this sex-segregation in the labor market restricts opportunities for women and artificially depresses clerical wage levels. By discouraging the entry of men into clerical work these factors also limit their career opportunities.

The elimination of sex-segregation in clerical work is clearly a significant issue. Our study revealed that although some progress has been made in encouraging women clericals to move out of clerical work into professional jobs, little progress had been made in encouraging clericals to move to blue collar jobs in the same company and little progress had been made in encouraging men to choose clerical work.

Many companies, utilities, for example, have large clerical labor forces as well as industrial work forces.

However, we found very few companies had made significant progress in transferring clerical workers. The problems are those that often exist in introducing women to all non-traditional jobs. Women are sometimes hesitant, men are resistant, and there are insufficient supports offered to women who wish to try.

We would suggest, however, that companies could establish career ladders that specify potential points of transfer, and actively make it known that opportunities are available. In addition companies could offer training in mathematics, machine assembly or related skills in order to facilitate transfer, or at least direct employees to these courses. Courses in Voc Tech

Schools and technical colleges could also be made available to women.

Opening apprenticeship opportunities to women clerical workers is also a potentially important way to train women for non-traditional jobs. It is relevant to note that the proposed federal regulations on apprenticeship recommend a 20% participation of women in apprenticeship programs. In addition the regulations recommend that to increase the number of female apprentices age-limits may have to be lowered. Clearly women clericals already on the job could be offered access to apprenticeship programs. Apprenticing female employees already employed in clerical areas could indeed assist companies in meeting their goals, and thereby open new and perhaps better paying options to women.

Careers for men in clerical work

> "We have very few male students; this is one of our goals in business education to encourage more young men to take the program on a high school level. We won't achieve this until we make some changes in our courses, which we are trying to do; and it will not happen until the positions are there in the business community for the young male to go into;.... young men are not going into careers in this area because they cannot afford it." Business Educator

Many women feel that worthwhile careers can and should be found in office work. To eliminate sex stereotyping, these opportunities should be available to men as well. An important concern of the PCSW study was to explore why so few men are found in clerical work. The fact is, men are not likely to be attracted to the industry unless wages are raised especially if clerical work continues to be identified as "woman's" work.

Certainly, our studies indicated that very little progress is being made in attracting men to clerical jobs. Most of the companies interviewed expressed interest, but were not hopeful. Some efforts were being made to attract males through high school recruitment and on the job high school placements. But, apart from these minimal efforts, little was being done to attract men. Most companies expected that in 10 years that, at most, 20% of the clerical work force would be male.

Where some progress has been made in attracting men into entry-level positions, such as in data processing or bank-telling, it was generally noted that the men were very upwardly mobile, and soon moved out of clerical positions. While one should clearly take heart from the fact that upward mobility is possible from clerical positions, this situation still reflects a double standard towards the progress of men and women.

In situations where male clerical workers did stay on the job, they faced very similar problems to women entering non-traditional jobs. One solitary male in a female office is not "one of the girls". In addition, males in clerical positions complain of sex-stereotyping. Male receptionists are ignored by visitors, who believe that only a woman can help them. Men are asked to carry boxes and fix clocks by fellow workers, just as women are asked to fetch coffee.

These problems can only be changed by attracting more men to clerical work. There does not appear to be much hope of this unless companies give the matter higher priority. Certainly enforcement agencies place a very low priority on bringing males into clerical work. Even companies which face a legal obligation to end sex-segregation have a 10 year goal of 75% - 90% female employees in the clerical field.

We would not suggest that any pressure should be taken away from placing women in management or non-traditional jobs. However, we do question the absence of enforcement agency interest in opening the clerical field to males.

Moreover, we should note that the impact of legislation at the high school level, such as the 1976 Vocational Education Ammendments and Title IX, of the 1972 Education Ammendments, may indeed bring about changes in education faster than industry currently anticipates.

In the long run changes in high schools will be a crucial factor in opening office work to men. Currently very few males take business courses such as "secretarial skills" and "typing". There is ineeed some resistance

on the part of business teachers who do not want "troublesome" adolescent boys in their classrooms. But there is a growing awareness of the legal mandates in this area.

The major problem, however, is that young men do not want to take these courses. They regard them as "girl's courses" and also do not see any future for them in the area.

A necessary change which could be accomplished at the high school level is the sex neutralization of course titles and content. Secretarial courses could be termed office procedure courses, etc. The content of these courses should not be based on an assumed subordinate-pleasing-female to male-boss relationship, but should focus the organizational, planning and transcription skills necessary for the job. Typing and key punch, which are now assumed to be "girls' courses" could be taught under the heading of "keyborad". Not only would this sex neutralize the appeal of the course, but it would encourage the teaching of skills that could be used in a broader, and often better-paying range of jobs. Clerical work should be referred to as office work. This would help move from old stereotypes and open new horizons.

Just as counselling materials such as pamphlets should show women in machine trades, so they should also show young men in clerical work. Current materials are heavily sex-stereotyped.

In addition increased emphasis on work experience programs in industry with attention given to the active recruitment and support of young men for office work could help eliminate sex stereotyping.

Ultimately, however, the real motivation necessary to encourage men to enter the clerical field will be provided by the structure of clerical jobs. If these jobs pay better and/are organized into career paths, it is far more likely that men will be attracted to the field.

Clerical work provides a fascinating example of sex stereotyping. Originally the clerk was male; he was a trainee office manager, who worked his way through every aspect of office work. As the field expanded in the

early 1900's, each component was broken down, and the cheap labor of women was employed. But during wars, and in military and political situations men have continued to do clerical work. One Connecticut State Representative summarized his clerical career as follows:

> "I spent 6 years in the Air Force as an administrative type and upon re-entering the civilian labor market took a job as a clerk. I am still with that company and have done very well over the past 17 years. So goes the male in general. Unfortunately the same has not happened for the female. From my vantage point there have been significant improvements made in the past few years in terms of female promotion due to governmental activity. In the case of the male entering the clerical field, I feel the main problem is vanity due to historical patterns. In my case it was hunger and a lack of other job opportunities at that particular time."

Hopefully, the day will come when men and women can choose careers according to aptitude, ability and interest and not sex.

D. Race Discrimination

11% of those surveyed by the PCSW were black and 1% were hispanic. According to the 1970 census for Connecticut, 94% of all clerical workers are white, 6.4% are Black and 1.3% are Spanish. These statistics reveal some underutilization, especially amongst Hispanic persons, when compared to statistics for the entire population which reveal that 93.5% of the population is white, 5.9% Black and 2.4% Hispanic. When compared with higher statistics for cities such as Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport where the minority population is greater, underutilization is more apparent.

However, the study found that several companies were making positive efforts at minority recruitment, and were successful especially in hiring Black women but attention needs to be placed on the hiring of Hispanic clerical workers.

The study found, however, that minority participation was less successful in the higher levels of clerical work, such as executive secretary. We were not able to obtain a breakdown of minority participation in secretarial

schools, but suggest that this should be investigated. Certainly efforts need to be made to ensure that minority participats do not become over-represented at lower salary levels.

We should also note that race discrimination was identified as a barrier in the promotion of Black and Hispanic office workers as discussed in the previous section.

IV. CHANGE

A. Moving the Bureaucracy

> "Let's fact it, if we stopped working all the offices would close. If all the women in all theoffices were to walk off, I think this entire country would close down." Bookkeeper Small Company

Throughout the study we were concerned to identify what forces could be encouraged to bring about changes. We identified four; women themselves, unionization, the enforcement of affirmative action plans, and litigation.

First, we sensed an increasing awareness of women themselves of their needs, their rights and their dignity. We found active women's groups in several of the major companies, and two organizations -- one in the Hartford area, "Women Office Workers", and one in the New Haven area, and one newspaper, The Daily Grind -- concerned with identifying and articulating the needs of clerical workers as women. It was our impression that these groups helped women to identify their problems and gain the support and information necessary to initiate changes.

Second, the minority of women office workers who were unionized had gained job posting, bidding procedures and job evaluation procedures through their contracts. In two cases testimony revealed that contract negotiations had been able to address discriminatory pay scales. Female leadership was also very apparent in the three office worker local unions where the majority of the membership is female, (Wesleyan, Quinnipiac, Knights of Columbus).

A concern for unionization ranked sixth amongst the concerns raised at the public hearing.

We should note, however, that our study revealed a significant lack of knowledge by clerical employees of their legal rights, both insofar as specific sex discrimination laws were concerned, but also the labor laws on overtime, wage payment and the right to organize. A stronger awareness by employees of their legal rights is clearly helpful for clerical workers seeking to improve their working conditions.

Third we found that affirmative action plans had helped considerably in "opening" the system. These require a company to identify, by job categories, the over or underutilization of protected classes, including women; and to evaluate all employment practices to ascertain whether they contribute to identified problems or discriminatory practices and how they could be changed to eliminate problems of discrimination.

In companies where affirmative action plans, had been enforced, we found job posting schemes, attempts to evaluate supervisors, in part, by their ability to meet affirmative action goals, procedures for hiring, and a higher consciousness of the mandates of federal and state anti-discrimination procedures.

However, we did note certain problems in the application and utilization of affirmative action plans. First it was clear that the major concern of most companies was in filling affirmative action goals for women in management, in many cases by hiring from outside rather than drawing from within. Although many companies were aware and concerned about increasing the number of women in management we only found a few instances where there was concern for promoting clericals or focus on opportunities within clerical work. Enforcement agencies reinforced, and possibly were responsible for this focus.

While endorsing the emphasis on promoting women to management, we have concluded that more attention needs to be paid to the needs of office workers.

Promotional goals, for example, should identify promotions made from the clerical work force. In addition there should be more concern for the introduction of men into office work.

In relation to clerical workers in particular, we also noted the absence of career ladders in Affirmative Action Plans or of other programs directed to the upward mobility of clericals, such as attempts made to assess the skills of clerical workers that could contribute to their advancement. In this respect we should note the movements underway in the State of Connecticut. Public Act 77-250, An Act Concerning Upward Mobility for State Service which specifically mandates that the question of upward mobility will be addressed as part of affirmative action plans and specific programs developed.

Particularly problematical, however, was the fact that several companies were unwilling to reveal affirmative action information to their employees. The survey revealed that 27% did not even know if their companies had affirmative action plans. Many employees had faced obstruction in trying to view their company's plans. Only one company we visited had their plan on display, and even then this was only the policy and program statement, without the numerical goals and utilization analysis.

Finally, many companies are not mandated to have affirmative action plans. Affirmative action plans are now required in state service, in any company receiving federal contracts, in educational institutions under Title IX, in Insurance Companies and Banking and in some companies which have been found in violation of Title VII, (e.g. SNETCO). We would estimate that only a minority of all companies in the State are required to have affirmative action plans. We found very few attempts to voluntarily adopt affirmative action plans.

Finally, the committment and concern of top management for the full-development of their clerical work force is a significant prerequisite for change.

We did find considerable concern to address the problems of women in management. We also found some receptivity to our study, and some genuine attempts to address the problems of clericals in larger companies. However, we feel that there is a great need for increased awareness at top management levels and that there was rarely a whole-hearted attempt to address the economic issue of upward mobility for clericals or opportunity within the clerical field itself.

Fourth, legal strategies for change have been few. Those that have been initiated are not entirely successful. Application of the Equal Pay Act has been limited by the absence of males in clerical jobs for comparative purposes. Recent equal pay decisions which justify pay differences in the maintenance area on the basis of physical strength suggest that discriminatory assumptions exist which give value to physical skills even though, in this age of mechanization, it could be argued that physical strength is an outmoded requirement. Although we should note that 25% of those surveyed sited equal pay violations which indicated a need for equal pay enforcement.

Title VII could be utilized to redress overt acts of discrimination such as blocking clerical employees from promotional opportunities reserved for males. Successful cases have been taken on this issue. However, job requirements, such as degrees which are not necessarily related to job performance, have not yet been challenged, as constituting sex discrimination.

Two cases have attempted to use Title VII to challenge the setting of wages by prevailing labor market rates as discriminatory because it adopts and perpetuates the results of past discrimination. In Denver, for example, nurses made such a challenge. At Iowa State University, where it was established that on an objective points system clericals (females) ranked higher than maintainers (males) but nonetheless were paid a lower "going rate", the clericals challenged their low wages as discriminatory. The judge, however,

ruled that Title VII was not intended to interfere with the "natural" dynamics of the labor market. Economic studies have established that there is an "un-natural" depression of wages caused by the over-supply of women for clerical jobs which result from sex-stereotyped labor markets. This work could perhaps be used to substantiate legal challenges to total adherence to the "going rate" in setting wages.

Moreover, the fact that a large percentage of those surveyed indicated violation of Connecticut General Statute 31-126 (g), the pregnancy disability law, which provides for leave of absence and use of disability insurance and sick leave for pregnancy suggests serious violations which need to be addressed.

B. Combining Home and Work

Finally, a discussion of upward mobility for women in office work, must address the kinds of support services that enable women who take primary responsibility of child care, to maintain job attachment; and also assist those families attempting to share child care responsibilities. Paid pregnancy leaves are crucial. Our survey indicated significant violation of Connecticut's pregnancy disability law (P.A. 31-126g) which requires use of disability pay and leave of absence for pregnancy. In addition, many large companies do not have disability plans and limit the accumulation of sick leave, or are moving to no set number of sick days. Day care is sadly absent. There is very little work-site, company or union day care. Part-time jobs universally appeared to be given second class status, without benefits or job security, and were not built into regular job ladders. Flexible hours were rare, although they were under consideration in a few large companies. It appeared that women in management were more concerned with flexible hours schemes than men, and were attempting to make both part-time and flexible hours viable on a small scale for the people under their direct

supervision. Part-time work and flexible hours are helpful for parents.

Broad based changes in women's career perceptions, may, we feel, also require significant changes in the "company" work ethic. We heard from both men and women in top management that to get ahead women had to be like men, accpet long working hours, travel and regional mobility. We would like to suggest that these assumptions might place women in yet another "catch 22" situation. If family life is to increasingly become the shared responsibility of men and women, we would suggest that this corporate work ethic might have to change accordingly. After all it was based on the model of the male breadwinner, and the wife and mother, a model that is rapidly changing.

V. PCSW PROGRAM FOR CHANGE

Connecticut General Statute Section 46a Chapter 812, mandates the PCSW to research and investigate issues of concern to women, to publish these concerns and to initiate legislation for change. Accordingly the PCSW will act on the findings of the clerical project in the following manner, by;

1. Developing an outreach strategy for disseminating the findings of the clerical report and enlisting support for change amongst employers, unions, clerical workers, educators, and other appropriate groups.

2. Researching the feasibility of and promoting, legislation to expand Affirmative Action Requirements, to include the concept of career ladders, and written job escriptions, especially amongst municipalities.

3. Making information on legal rights available to clerical workers and their employers, especially through the dissemination of the PCSW pamphlet, "Women's Job Rights and How to Use Them". Offering support for clerical workers seeking to exercise their rights.

4. Continued participation on the Upward Mobility Committee, mandated by Public Act 77-250 to develop an upward mobility program in State Service.

5. Support of legislation to ensure full coverage of part-timers under labor laws and pro-rated benefits.

6. Work to increase the availability of child care and flexible employment practices.

APPENDICES

The following appendices are available from the PCSW, upon request, for the price of xeroxing.

1. Public Hearing Summary
2. Facts about the Clerical Workforce
3. Dictionary of Occupational Titles definitions of clerical jobs
4. Feminization of the Clerical Workforce
5. Clerical Wage Surveys
6. Public Hearing Transcript
7. Survey Summary

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PCSW Staff

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